

RIPON FORUM

VOL. IX, No. 10

MAY 15, 1973

25 CENTS

EDITORIAL

Republicans are frustrated. Last fall, the only White House measure of Republicanism was the amount of money and time contributed to the re-election of the President. Fundraisers for the Committee to Re-elect the President swooped mercifully into the checkbooks of GOP givers, leaving only small change for other Republican candidates. Partisan responsibilities could not interfere with the re-election of the President, no matter how assured that re-election appeared to be.

In return for their support, party faithful were not even rewarded with a Republican campaign. The President defected from the party to build his "New American Majority." Now the Gallup Poll reports that the New American Majority is disillusioned. The party faithfuls discover that they have financed a James Bond epic: "The Man from CREP," produced and directed at the White House. It turns out to be a box office bomb.

Further, Republicans now find that their party has been smeared with guilt by association. GOP fundraisers at the national, state and local level are discovering that Republican contributors will not give to a party that employs burglars and spies. Ironically, all that money is not in the GOP's bank account. It belongs to the counter-insurgency experts at CREP.

It is small wonder that Republicans have raised the loudest cries for an independent prosecutor for the Watergate scandals. The Senate resolution recently passed was co-sponsored by Senators Charles Percy, Charles McC. Mathias, Robert Dole, Barry Goldwater and James L. Buckley. The GOP is certainly not going to bail-out CREP now that the New American Majority has self-destructed.

The tension between the party and the President is unlikely to disappear naturally with time. Reports in the newspapers, which the White House now says we can occasionally believe, indicate that President Nixon is livid with both Senators Percy and Goldwater for putting the heat on the White House to clean up Watergate and the ensuing cover-up. But the possibility of White House wrath will no longer be an effective deterrent to independent Republican actions. "Get Smart" is the new congressional message for the White House. Those Republican congressmen who have built independent reputations now look particularly honest and wise.

Thus the President's leadership position in the party will have to be re-earned. A few months ago, he talked about how aspirants for the 1976 presidential nomination will have to demonstrate their campaign clout and earn national leadership by campaigning for Republican candidates in 1974. Now, ironically, this will be important for the lame-duck President too. Rather than coolly demonstrating his power by undermining another Charles Goodell in 1974, the President

will have to assist — in whatever way is appropriate — all Republican candidates.

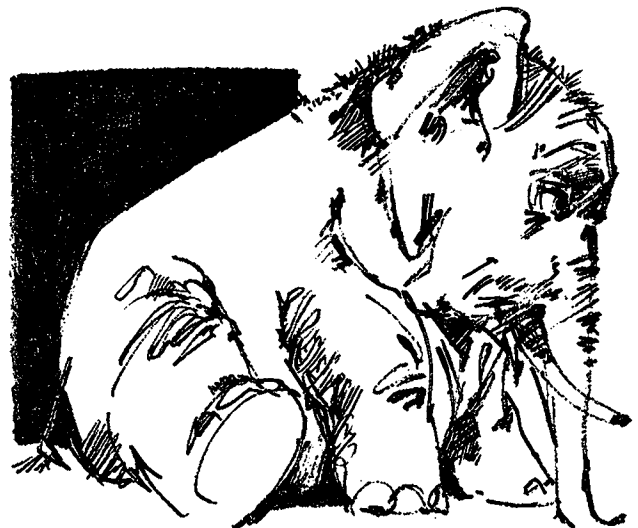
But the President cannot wait until the fall of 1974 to reestablish rapport with the GOP. The Ripon Society has already asked the President to dissolve CREP and to distribute its remaining net assets to the Republican State Committees. At its annual meeting last month, the Society issued a statement saying: "These funds were entrusted to the Committee by thousands of Americans for the re-election of the President and for building the Republican Party. This money must no longer be directed to pay for lawyers, limousines and livelihoods of those implicated in Watergate or its cover-up."

In the past, Richard Nixon has been a proud and partisan Republican. But in 1972, he deserted the party to become head of the New American Majority. Now, the New American Majority has evaporated and the President cannot expect the GOP to come enthusiastically to his rescue.

Meanwhile, the party must act — as the President indicated in his speech on April 30 — to propose better ways to prevent future "Watergates." In a letter to Republican National Chairman George Bush, dated May 2, the Society urged the Republican National Committee to create a "Task Force on Campaign Ethics." The task force would propose revisions in federal election and campaign financing laws.

Among the recommendations that the task force might investigate, the Society proposed:

1. The prohibition of *ad hoc* campaign financing organizations such as the Committee to Re-elect the President and the restriction of campaign fundraising and expenditures to official party organizations. As



North Carolina Republican State Chairman Frank Rouse has said, "CREP brought people in off the street with no damn political credentials at all. They totally ignored the traditional Republican leadership, and they brought this on."

2. The enactment of legislation which would require "accountability in campaign organizations." Campaign workers should be "reorganized" members of a campaign organization and not clandestine operatives. Procedures should also be devised to make the candidate legally accountable for the actions of his workers. Over zealous politicians might think twice about campaign chicanery if they knew it would reflect directly and perhaps criminally on their candidate.

3. "Truth in Campaigning" legislation which would limit political misrepresentations which denigrate the campaign process and insult voter intelligence. As Utah Republican State Chairman Kent Shearer has written, "Political efforts all too often degenerate into yet

another replay of The Night of the Long Knives. Grown men, teased into paranoia, behave outrageously and paint each other as escapees from Bedlam, moral lepers, conspirators against the American Way of life and incompetents to boot."

4. Limits on campaign contributions. One of the lamentable side effects of the whole Watergate episode is to paint the Republican Party as the exclusive preserve of the wealthy. Campaign expenditures and campaign fundraising have clearly reached ludicrous proportions. If the GOP is to become "The Party of the Open Door," it must take clear action to limit the size of individual contributions.

Rebuilding the GOP requires more than "plumbers." It requires architects to rehabilitate the party structure, and an affirmation of the need to hire qualified, principled workers. No matter how fast the plumbers plug the leaks, the GOP is doomed if its super-structure is rotten and full of bugs. ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Anderson at the crossroads," by David Murray. *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 24, 1973. "The old baseball scouting report, 'hits with authority to all fields,' applies these days as never before to Rep. John Anderson, the Rockford Republican," according to David Murray. Anderson's new prominence in Washington is partly a result of Anderson's increasing independence from the White House. Murray cites Anderson's "point-by-point refutation of the Administration's arguments against a pipeline to bring Alaskan oil to the Midwest; his leadership in the Administration-supported fight to tap the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit, and his criticism of Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst's congressional testimony on executive privilege. Murray also numbers Anderson among next year's possible Republican opponents to Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D). "The 51-year-old Anderson has told associates he will decide on making the Senate race about Labor Day. It will be one of the tougher decisions in anyone's political career." Concludes the syndicated columnist, "Knowing John Anderson, however, he will arrive at his decision in a manner which is politically astute, knowledgeable — and prayerful."

● "Reagan Neutral But Leaning To Reinecke," by Jack Welter. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, April 29, 1973. Gov. Ronald Reagan is maintaining neutrality in California Republicans' four-way race for the gubernatorial nomination, but in an interview with Jack Welter, he indicated that he is leaning toward Lieutenant Gov. Ed Reinecke. Reagan said his neutrality was dictated in order to preserve party unity but, "If I think that the party can best be served and unity by served by my taking a position, I'll do that."

● "All in the GOP Family," by William B. Street. *The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal*, April 22, 1973. Tennessee Gov. Winfield Dunn and Senators William Brock and Howard Baker, Jr. have "apparently decided to unite in a 'hands off' attitude toward the (1974 gubernatorial) contest. The main reason is self-preservation, a strong suit of any respectable politician." Street predicts, however, that because Republicans have learned they can win, "the gloves will come off in 1974."

● "New Image Urged for Georgia GOP," by Milo Dakin. *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 24, 1973. A difference of philosophy is developing between two of the most prominent candidates to succeed Howard "Bo" Callaway as GOP national committeeman. Unlike Nolan Murrah of Columbus, Roy Foster of Savannah does not "want our national committeeman coming down here and telling us what the President wants. I want him in Washington telling the President what we want." Foster also wants to change the GOP's country club image. "It's not enough to call yourself a 'party of the people.' The people have to know it." The image of Callaway, scion of a long line of Georgia landowners, may be one of the contributing factors in the GOP's "rich" image. Says one Republican, "The party is changing and Callaway isn't."

● "Can A Kentuckian Hit The Top In American Politics?" by Don Mills. *Lexington Herald*, May 7, 1973. "Although he has not said so publicly, (Kentucky Gov. Wendell) Ford reportedly would like to have the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket. So, of course, would about 15 other Democratic governors. All their spirits are bolstered by the fact that there is widespread belief that the Democrats will turn to a governor for either the top or second place in 1976." Since Ford cannot succeed himself in the 1975 gubernatorial election, Mills suggests he will have to seek Sen. Marlow Cook's Senate seat next year instead in order to keep in the public spotlight. However, Lt. Gov. Julian Carroll is not in the good graces of Democratic State Chairman J.R. Miller, who might try to dissuade Ford from a Senate bid, thus salvaging Miller's own power.

● "Gunter Against Gurney?" by Bob Turner. *The Tampa Tribune-Times*, March 11, 1973. "Is Bill Gunter, just now getting his feet on the ground as a freshman congressman, already running for the U.S. Senate seat in Florida that will be up for election next year?" Columnist Turner suggests it might be so but also suggests Gunter might be Gov. Reubin Askew's running mate for lieutenant governor.

● "Golden State Individualists in the House," by Sydney Kossen. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, April 15, 1973. California's congressional delegation, which has expanded rapidly to 43 members, has had growing pains which mitigate against any unified delegation action. But comparing his group to its nearest rival, U.S. Rep. Thomas M. Rees (D) said, "But there's no comparison between us and those nuts from New York. They fight all the time."

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in sixteen cities. National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1973 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$3 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman
Robert H. Donaldson
James Manahan

Tanya Melich
Robert G. Stewart
Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, and Daniel J. Swillinger

Circulation and Copy Editor: Judith H. Behn

Art: Leslie Morrill and Annie Greene

Editorial Assistants: Deborah Bowen and Victoria Golden

POLITICS: REPORTS

NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL — While Sen. Sam Ervin concentrates on the Watergate investigations in Washington, North Carolina politicians are angling for places in the line to succeed him.

At the head of the line is North Carolina Attorney General Robert Morgan who has indicated that he is ready to enter a 1974 primary against Ervin, but would prefer it if Ervin decided to retire. The 76-year-old incumbent has indicated no such intention. As one Tarheel politician has said, "There must be 20 politicians in this state waiting for Ervin to give up or die, but he isn't going to do either."

Morgan, a former segregationist who has jumped on the consumer bandwagon, would have difficulty raising cash from big contributors. He may face opposition from other Democrats who also see 1974 as their only chance at the Senate for the next 20 years. Possible hopefuls include 1972 Senate nominee Nick Galifianakis, 1972 gubernatorial nominee Hargrove "Skipper" Bowles and Chicago Board of Trade Chairman George Wilson.

Although the Republicans do not suffer a surfeit of Senate possibilities — particularly in the congressional ranks — the GOP would probably have a stiff time against any probable Democratic nominee.

Meanwhile, Morgan's 1972 Republican opponent, moderate Nick Smith, who won a highly respectable 43 percent against the popular Democrat, has announced that he intends to seek the congressional seat now held by U.S. Rep. Ike F. Andrews (D). Andrews won Galifianakis's old 4th C.D. seat last fall by only 1,100 votes. ■

COLORADO

DENVER — The possible appointment of Gov. John A. Love (R) as secretary of the Air Force may give Lieutenant Gov. John Vanderhoof a boost toward the 1974 gubernatorial campaign.

Vanderhoof, who was elected lieutenant governor in 1970 and has been

a long-time Love ally, is the most moderate Colorado Republican who is considering entering the 1974 race. Given the setback of the Love Administration in last year's Olympics referendum, the GOP frontrunner is probably conservative GOP National Committeeman Bill Daniels, who defeated former GOP State Chairman Bob Flanigan (brother of presidential aide Peter Flanigan) for the national committee post last summer. (Daniel's brother, businessman Jack Daniels, was the defeated Democratic Senate candidate in New Mexico in 1972.)

There are also rumors in Colorado that U.S. Rep. Donald G. Brotzman of the 2nd C.D. may be considering a gubernatorial race in 1974. Although Brotzman has avoided controversial public stands, he remembers everybody's name and might be tough to beat. U.S. Rep. Brotzman's office has no comment on his plans.

Daniels and fellow hardline conservatives from the Denver area seem to be consolidating their grip on the party. Denver attorney Dwight A. Hamilton, who has been GOP chairman in Arapahoe County, was elected on March 24 to succeed Kenneth Lloyd as state chairman. The election of Hamilton and of Mrs. Daniel Gray last summer as national committee-woman completed the leadership swing away from the moderate Love-type leaders who seem to have tired of the party wars.

In accepting his new post, Hamilton said he would "not attempt to put the Republican Party into an ideological mold," and would not interfere in the gubernatorial race until after the 1974 primary.

Whomever the Republicans nominate — whether Vanderhoof, Daniels or State House Speaker John D. Fuhr — he will have a difficult race ahead in 1974. Neither the GOP gubernatorial candidate nor Sen. Peter Dominick (R), who is also up for re-election, are expected to have easy campaigns.

Sen. Dominick announced at the State Central Committee meeting that he would run for re-election "if my health stays right." A flock of young Democratic candidates are ready to

seek both nominations (including former McGovern manager Gary Hart). In the gubernatorial race in particular, Republicans will be hurt by the feeling that Colorado may be ready for a partisan change after 12 years of Gov. Love.

In other elections at the committee meeting, 24-year-old Bill Graham of Pueblo was elected 3rd C.D. GOP chairman. Graham, who is a rancher, was elected last year to the State Board of Education and is a former state GOP research director. ■

WYOMING

CASPER, Wyoming — The running joke in Cheyenne, Wyoming's state capitol, is that at least 41 persons are considering running for governor in 1974 if Gov. Stanley K. Hathaway, the popular Republican incumbent, decides not to seek re-election.

Although Hathaway has not announced his decision, he is believed likely to retire. With Senators Clifford Hansen (R) and Gale McGee (D) as well as U.S. Rep. Teno Roncalio (D) relatively safe in their respective seats, the governorship may offer the only real opportunity for upwardly mobile politicians in Wyoming.

Among the Republicans mentioned as possible candidates are State Sen. Thomas E. Stroock, a Casper businessman; Attorney General Clarence "Bud" Brimmer, who preceded David Kennedy as Republican state chairman; and Mrs. Thyra Thomson, who, as secretary of state, is Wyoming's second highest elected public official.

According to Kennedy, Watergate seems unlikely to have a deep effect on next year's races because Wyoming voters associate the scandal with the President and CREP rather than with the Republican Party. ■

One More Year

Renew Now!

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Utah Republicans have worked diligently in the past two years to support campaign reform legislation. But Utah State Republican Chairman **Kent Shearer**, a strong proponent of such reform, was dismayed recently to discover that a campaign consultant firm hired in the 1970 Republican senatorial campaign of **Laurence J. Burton** had directed its own "Watergate." Shearer says the firm engaged in "dirty tricks," among them a break-in into an AFL-CIO campaign "boiler room." Nevertheless, Shearer says it is "pretty easy (for Utah Republicans) to point to the record" in campaign ethics. He remains optimistic about the 1974 senatorial race, however, because the possible Republican candidates are of unquestioned integrity.

● Connecticut Lt. Governor **T. Clark Hull** has been named to the State Superior Court. Hull, a liberal Republican serving under conservative Republican Gov. **Thomas J. Meskill**, had long dreamed of the governorship; he had been nominated for the lieutenant governorship in 1970 only after a rebellious Republican state convention tired of the inability of Meskill and other Republican leaders to come up with a slate of statewide candidates. It has been predicted that Meskill would drop Hull as a running mate in 1974 in favor of Bridgeport Mayor **Nicholas Panuzio**.

● Colorado Republican National Committeeman **Bill Daniels** has suggested that Vice President Agnew be the new White House chief of staff. Says Daniels: "He makes speeches, cuts ribbons and performs many innocuous jobs. For this we pay him a big salary. Why not put him to maximum use?"

● Two Republicans, City Council President **Liem Tuai** and City Councilman **Tim Hill**, have announced their candidacies for the nonpartisan Seattle mayoralty seat held by Mayor **Wes Uhlman**.

● Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** (R-N.Y.) has appointed **R. Burdell Bixby** as "director of pre-campaign activities for 1974." When not running Gov. Rockefeller's gubernatorial campaigns in the past, Bixby has been running the New York State Thruway Authority.

● U.S. Rep. **Barber Conable** (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House Republican Research Committee, has appointed a 15-member Task Force on Election Reform in the aftermath of Watergate. The committee, chaired by U.S. Rep. **William Frenzel** (R-Minn.), will examine such diverse issues as campaign finance reporting, electoral college reform, and selection of vice presidential candidates.

● On April 22, 1973, Sen. **Bill Brock** (R-Tenn.) appeared on the WMCT-TV program "Close-Up" and accused Tennessee Democrats of using "paid informants" and "surveillance and infiltration" tactics. Mrs. **Ann H. Rickey** and **James F. "Tim" Schaeffer** subsequently have filed a \$100,000 Circuit Court suit against Brock contending that he slandered them because they both have long been active Democrats. The suit claims that Brock used offending language on the telecast,

which was taped prior to the President's announcement of his private investigation. **Schaeffer**, who was campaign manager for former Sen. **Albert Gore**, and **Rickey** have promised to turn over any monetary gains they receive from the suit to the Tennessee Democratic State Committee. After Brock's speech, Democratic State Chairman **James Sasser** sent telegrams to Senators **Howard Baker** and **Sam Ervin** demanding a full investigation of the 1970 Senate campaign.

● You See One Scandal, You've Seen Them All Department: The word from United Press International in Sacramento on May 2 was a rather startling statement on Watergate from Gov. **Ronald Reagan**. Referring to the participants in Watergate: "I think the tragedy of this is that men who are not criminals at heart and certainly not engaged in criminal activities committed a criminal or illegal act and now must bear the consequences." Reagan said he doubted if any of them "would even intentionally double park." Reagan's concern with "well-meaning individuals" involved in Watergate contrasts strikingly with Reagan's tough stand on student demonstrators in California five years ago. Said Reagan then: "We must restore confidence in the ability of our educational institutions to maintain the same standards of conduct which apply to the rest of society and to eliminate disorderly interference with academic pursuits." Perhaps the same standards should be applied to students and politicians.

Rule 29

● **Mary McInnis**, a Missouri Republican with extensive experience in politics both in her home state and on Capitol Hill, has been appointed staff director of the Steiger Commission, which has yet formally to meet. Counsel for the committee is RNC General Counsel **Harry Dent**. The associate counsel is **John E. Robson**, a former White House aide from Illinois who was co-chairman in 1972 of the Lawyers Committee to Re-elect the President. **Human Events** says it is all a plot to "Riponize" the Republican Party.

Rule 30

● At a hearing in District Court on April 13, Judge **William B. Jones** denied the Republican National Committee's motions to dismiss the Ripon Society as a plaintiff and the RNC as a defendant in Ripon's suit challenging the 1976 delegate allocation formula. Judge Jones withheld decision on the application of the Pennsylvania Republican State Committee to intervene as a plaintiff pending receipt of further information on possible applications to intervene from other Republican state committees. The District of Columbia district judge also granted the RNC's request that the plaintiffs file a supplemental complaint in the interest of confining the issues to the formula adopted at the 1972 Republican National Convention. Ripon was directed to file the supplemental complaint in 20 days and the RNC was given 20 days to answer the complaint.

RIPON

FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.